/331 cont./

#171 682 not always in the best hands, and goes to the son, or, if there is none, to the son of the sister. In Maigéri the chief had died and left only a daughter, "my intended" in the Bakairí idyl. Tumayaua, the brother of the widow, now became temporary chief; as soon as the girl married, her husband took his place. She received a quantity of the beads which we had given to others; the chief's stool belonged to her.

#171 611 648 A number of characteristics of matriarchy are recognizable in the little that I am able to report about these conditions. The sons belong to the tribe of the mother. Antonio said that if one of the Bakairí /Bacairi/ married to Paresí women had children, they would be Paresí. Which, of course, in the case of abducted #171 582 648 women, can only be meant very theoretically. In our time marriages took place between Mehinakú and Nahuquá, between Auetó and Taulapiti, as well as between Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Auetó, between Kamayurá and Mehinakú, between Batovy Bakairí and Kuikuró /Cuicuro/, between Kalimehu Bakairí and Nahuquá. Just as Mehinakú women lived among the Nahuquá, #171 591 648 so had Auetó men married Yaulapiti women and lived in two houses somewhat apart from the Auetó village; they were called "Arauití."* On the other hand, a Kuikuró man and a Nahuquá

*The Suyá chief who in 1894 gave us the map of the river course was also called an "Arauití" by the Auetó chief. His strikingly small lip-plug was explained by the fact that he had had the operation later. He himself traced his geographical knowledge back to his own

man had married and lived among the Bakairí, whereas we never observed the opposite, that Bakairí women married into #171 591 another tribe. Paulaga, from the first Bakairí village on the ● 649 Batovy, had as his wife Awíla's daughter from Maigéri and, when his wife was ready to give birth, came with her to Awíla's house on the Kalimehu /so that she, or rather both of them, as we shall

/331 cont./

see, could occupy the lying-in room at the home of the parents-in-law. Although the people lived in monogamy and the father was the head of the family, the mother's brother was still regarded as equal to the father as a protector of the child and in any case, if the father died, assumed all responsibilities until the children were grown. He, not the mother, was in charge of their property.

Among all the tribes, older and younger brothers had different designations. The younger brother was on the same level as the cousin and had a name in common with him. The Bakaïrí called me "older brother" and later in the third village also "grandfather"; the Mehinakú called me "uncle" (mother's brother). My traveling companions were always called my "younger brothers or cousins" and were also addressed in this way by the Indians themselves.

Marriages were concluded without wedding celebrations, the parents, first the fathers, then the mothers, talk matters over, and the father of the bride receives /332/ arrows and some axes, the bridegroom must also work with him in the clearing "to show that he knows how," he hangs his hammock above that of the girl, and everything is in order. That older men have young wives and younger men older wives was clearly pronounced only on the Paranatinga, but not on the Kulisehu (this prerogative of the old thus appears only with the decline of the tribe). At least the few matrimonial unions with which I became more closely acquainted in Maigéri were evenly matched. Divorce among the Bakaïrí takes place without any trouble, it was said, even if the husband is not in favor of it. "The woman leaves, perhaps he

I have spoken earlier about the division of labor between the sexes, cf. pp. 216 ff. The woman did not occupy an undignified position. The husband let her carry a larger load than he himself carried, he kept her away from the flute house where the men consulted, smoked, celebrated festivals, and where strangers were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and he did what she wanted. When Martius says that the woman does not occupy an inferior position "in spite of slavish subordination as a result of

/334 cont./

One of the women in the Paranatinga village was called manãla + tujujú mork. The names of the men were usually obtained without difficulty; sometimes there was a little reluctance and it was preferred that a friend give the information. One Bakaïrí allegedly had no name because his parents had died early. From the women on the Kulisehu I always received only the answer, "I am a woman"; however, I neglected to ask a third person. I have described the custom of exchanging names, cf. pages 115 and 122. It explains why the Indians make so little fuss about submitting to Christian baptism. To them it means simply a ceremony by means of which they lose their old name.

Birth and couvade. Abortions are said to take place frequently. The women are afraid of childbirth. Among the Bakaïrí they make a tea from the root of a campo tree called perovinha. Probably there are also mechanical procedures. The woman gives birth in a kneeling position on the floor, hanging on to a post. The hammock is not supposed to be soiled. Women who demonstrated this to us in pantomime and who knew about it from experience stated emphatically that the pains were great. They soon get up, however, and go to work, and the man goes through the well-known couvade, the male lying-in, during which he adheres to a strict diet, does not touch weapons, and spends most of his time in the hammock. On our return we saw such a couvade in Maigêri in Paiaho's house. An actual lying-in room had been /335/ set up by stretching two man-high walls of hanging buriti leaves from one of the main posts to the outer wall. In this way a three-cornered segment was closed off. I was gladly allowed to enter so that I could give the child beads. [illegible] with babies and two men. A strong odor of nihí, coming from rubbings, filled the room. The babies were hurígo, ill, weak, the parents complained. The fathers and mothers were ceaselessly occupied with blowing on them, and, to be sure, with hollow-sounding noises with the mouth nearly closed, which was hardly interrupted for a moment throughout the following night. The husbands left the house only to relieve themselves; they lived exclusively on thin pogo, manioca cakes crumbled in water.

/330 cont./

Among our Indians the father takes care of the child, the woman returns to work sooner. That the father lies in the hammock a great deal is understandable in view of the lack of nourishment and from the mere fact that he stays at home. /336/ When does the couvade start and when does it end? The father cuts the umbilical cord of the newborn child, fasts strictly, cares for the child, and is a free man once more when the remainder of the umbilical cord drops off. Among the Bakairí he cuts the umbilical cord of boys with kanihuyuva reed, of girls with takuara bamboo.

Let us compare with this the note by Martius about the Pauiís /Pawí/, where the customs may be recognized particularly clearly as medical when the young woman at the onset of the menses fasts for a month, the woman in confinement remains in the dark for a month and, "like the husband, is restricted to a diet of manioca, beiju, and flour soup. The husband colors himself black and remains in the hammock during the entire period of fasting, or until the dried umbilical cord of the baby drops off (six to eight days). He himself usually cuts the umbilical cord with the teeth or sharp stones, if he has no knife." Especially important, however, is a manuscript by the Jesuit Fernão Cardim of 1584 and preserved for us in the monastery library of Evora, the capital of the Portuguese province of Alemtejo,*

* *De principio e origem dos Indios do Brasil* /The Beginning and Origin of the Indians of Brazil/, Rio de Janeiro, 1881.

which contains many reliable observations. "The women give birth on the ground, they do not pick up the child, but rather the father picks it up or some person whom they take as [illegible] and with whom they [illegible], and on the ground" among the Christians, the father cuts the umbilical cord with the teeth or with two stones, one above the other, and immediately thereafter he lies down to fast until the navel drops off, which usually takes up to eight days, and until it drops off they

/303 cont./

600 begun that surrounded them. Pregnancy, *ruhua*, was
[43] recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
202 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible
proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
● 644 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the house; the parturient was segregated and re-
mained *unuki*. Female relatives helped in the delivery under
the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[87] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her
abdomen and calm with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The
umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her hus-
band, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
644 house. After the birth, *ennuiki* the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
644 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[355] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of
unuki.
644 The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
784 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
784 feast called *tsiaumiro*. The reinvention of the parents and the
child in the bosom of the community was accomplished by
means of a feast called *nahuiuki*.

When children reached puberty they were secluded,
unuki, for a period of several months. They could not come
[236] out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration
[622] of the young people's *unuki* period would lead to their better
or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's
611 son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
784 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
784 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
pierced immediately after birth, and their seclusion was
marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the *unuki*
[21] for girls was also celebrated with the *tsiaumiro*. The girls then
[21] began to wear *shuri*, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
[21] about three centimeters square made of bark.
[21]
[21]

There appears to be no evidence that the Iwaniri had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 2.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are distinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was common but not preferred. There were no residence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Iwaniri lived in large communal houses, marriages often took place between young people brought up in the same house. After marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Iwaniri say that families could move to another house with the consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monogamous. The father and the father's brother had great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but less than the eldest brother. The relationship between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informant saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (TRANSLATED)

Pregnancy (*mukbi*) was recognized as being caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal routine began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

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with a bamboo sliver. The placenta was wrapped in a piece of cotton cloth and buried because it was believed that if it were picked at by birds it would cause sickness and misfortune to the mother and child. The child was then washed, wrapped, and given to the mother. Later it was given the name of one of its ancestors.

During the seclusion period the mother and child were believed to be in a state of ritual danger (*wenbi*). They were not permitted to go out in daylight and had to be fed and cared for by the female relatives. The first menses released the mother and child from seclusion, this release being known as *tuhuwaito*. Shortly afterward the father invited the villagers to a ceremony (*tuhiwa*) during which the *wahipire* and *tuhiwa* flutes were played and only the women danced. By means of this ceremony the mother was reintegrated into the life of the family and the village.

After 3 years of age both boys and girls began to copy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 13 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (*pamphire*) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with [illegible] ears of about the same age would perform this rite [illegible] and drinking, the *pairambi* song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of *wabiri*, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.